

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5201

AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: XH, US

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY ON EASTERN EUROPE BEFORE HIRC BY

DAS LUERS

REF: STATE 194188

1. EMBASSY APPRECIATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THE SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR THE HIRC TESTIMONY ON EASTERN EUROPE. WE ASSUME THAT THIS SESSION WILL BE ON THE RECORD, WHICH SIGNIFICANTLY COLORS OUR VIEWS ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE SAID, PARTICULARLY UNDER THE FIRST OBJECTIVE UNDER PART IV: "TO ENCOURAGE MAXIMUM INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIETS IN FOREIGN POLICY."

2. WE FULLY SUPPORT THAT POLICY OBJECTIVE AS WELL AS THE OTHERS SET FORTH IN THE OUTLINE. AND IN VIEW OF THE DIFFERING CIRCUMSTANCES FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND DIFFERING CAPABILITIES FOR RESIST-

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ING SOVIET PRESSURE, IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE HAVE RETURNED TO THE EARLIER US POLICY OF TREATING EACH COUNTRY INDIVIDUALLY.

3. AS REGARDS THE EFFECT OF OUR EAST EUROPEAN POLICY ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES WE SHOULD NOT FAIL TO USE THIS MEANS OF KEEPING UP

THE PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS. IN THAT RESPECT, ONE OF OUR OBJECTIVES SHOULD BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE SOVIET RELATIONSHIP WITH EASTERN EUROPE WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE EASTERN EUROPEANS MORE ELBOW ROOM, THUS DISSIPATING NATIONALIST PRESSURES DANGEROUS TO PEACE IN THE AREA. AS A LONGER TERM, MORE INTANGIBLE OBJECTIVE WE CAN ALSO SEEK, THROUGH THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST SOCIETIES IN EASTERN EUROPE, TO PROVIDE A POSITIVE EXAMPLE FOR THOSE LIMITED FEW WHO MAY SEEK REFORM OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. AND IN STRICTLY US-SOVIET TERMS, MAINTAINING PRESSURE IN EASTERN EUROPE IS A USEFUL PART OF OUR OVERALL GLOBAL STRATEGY, A COUNTERPART OF OUR DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC.

4. WE THINK IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, HOWEVER, TO ARTICULATE CLEARLY SUCH A POLICY IN A PUBLIC FORUM. TO DO SO WOULD ENCOURAGE SOVIET COUNTERMEASURES, WOULD FORCE THE EAST EUROPEAN REGIMES TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR LOYALTY TO MOSCOW, AND WOULD RUN THE RISK OF ENCOURAGING HOPELESS AND PREMATURE OPPOSITION WITHIN EASTERN EUROPE WHICH THE US IS IN NO POSITION TO ASSIST IN CONCRETE WAYS.

5. THEREFORE WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT FIND FORMULATIONS WHICH ARE GENERALLY ACCURATE AS TO OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES, AND CAN PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PRIVATE ELUCIDATION

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DATIONS TO INTERESTED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, BUT DO NOT ENCOURAGE REACTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION WHICH COULD BLOCK THE EVENTUAL FULFILLMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES. TOON

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